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174
167 More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .

195
193 Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hina)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

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family set out, carrying *kaaku* as a food offering. As they approached the house of the true parents, the women of the visiting family chanted sections of their genealogy. This chanting, which was always done by women in a loud high voice, was called *hahi*. Their hosts called to them to come up to the house, giving the conventional summons, *"Amai, amai"* (Come, come), called in a singing voice. There the adopting father's sisters and adopting mother's brothers presented the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers with the food offering. All seated themselves inside the house and the recipients of the food offering placed the packets of *kaaku* on their heads, leaving them there, while an old man, a member of the adopting family, chanted the *pu'e*, the creation or generation chant. The women of the two families followed this by chanting their genealogies. Then the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers ate the food gift, after which a feast was prepared for the visiting family. The feast over, without formalities the foster mother's oldest sister gave the child a name from its foster father's genealogy. The child then remained with its true parents until it was weaned.

The third rite, at the time of weaning, was called *pua'a koua*. A messenger arrived at Atu Ona to inform the adopting family that the time had arrived for weaning the child. Each of the sisters of the adopting father immediately set to work to make a strip of red banyan bark cloth, the *tapu* material used for the loin cloth of a sacred male child. Each of the adopting father's maternal uncles secured a pig. When all was ready, the family set out for Hana Mate, the sisters carrying their cloth and the brothers their pigs. As was always done on such formal occasions, the women of the family chanted their genealogy as they approached the house in Hana Mate. They were summoned to come upon the house platform *(paepae)* in the usual way. As they drew near, the sisters carried their sacred red cloth on their heads. After they had arrived, the eldest sister of the true father brought forward the child and gave it to the eldest sister of the foster father. All the sisters of the adopting father then placed their pieces of cloth on the infant. The pigs were then presented by the brothers, and the ceremony was over. There was no feast on this occasion, because the child, being very small, had to be brought back to Atu Ona immediately. (Another informant told me that the child was brought to its new home on the shoulders of its maternal uncles.) Its true mother accompanied it and stayed with the Atu Ona family until the child was accustomed to its new surroundings.

The final event of these ceremonies was the presentation of the gift of the true parents and their relatives to the adopting family at the feast called *ko'ina hai-to[illegible]'e*, or *ko'ina hai-taetae* (sending-gifts feast), as it

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

599 773 *tina o te áki, a táhi a ko'óna tá tátóU páE áhi. Uwa*
ness of the rub, then did get of them fire. Did

áki húwa pó'i. te owa tina o te áki uwa ú'a te áhi i
rub this people. The longness of the rub did light the fire to

úna o te hóU náti. u mahá'o húwa matalInana o mau'wi.
on of the stick. Did marvel these people of Maui.

u pe'áU huwa tuhúna, owiya nál te ápáU i ná'ž ná'ž
Did say this wise man, "Here is here the flavor to nice

ál te ó'a a mahUwikž. a táhi a ha'a pél pél átoU i
thus the victuals of Mahuike." Then did make ready they to

te áhi i úna o húwa hóU náti; uwa tú'u mž te kelkáha
the fire to on of this stick, did put with the cocofiber

mó'o, a táhi a kí'i te ú'a o te áhi.
dry, then did grow the flame of the fire.

Vocalization

195 In general, the vocalization of the Marquesan language is guttural, deep-throated and very forcible, especially when the speaker is somewhat excited. The native dialect cannot be spoken without putting a great deal of breath and energy into it. Women speak more gently than men, but even their conversation, judged by ordinary standards, is by no means gentle anywhere except on Uapou. All over the southern section conversation is more full-voiced, more rapid, and more incisive. Little range of voice is used except in ejaculations, greetings, and questions; conversation is in a rapid, staccato monotone. One person will frequently talk for some time, recounting or explaining something. Frequently, too, there is a rapid exchange of repartee. The mere physical exercise of talking is a distinct source of pleasure to the native, and yet they are far from garrulous. When a subject of conversation is exhausted, they sit in contented silence for very long periods.

Vocalization is less rapid, less precise, and less energetic, on Nukuhiva than on Hivaoa. Uapou represents the greatest divergence in this respect from Hivaoa. There, the women especially talk gently and with a caressing, singing tone, which is very pleasing. When they express admiration or delight, they literally sing their words with a slow, soft intonation and a rising and long-sustained inflexation on the stressed syllables of words, commonly ending a word or sentence with a long-sustained *e-e-e-e* as is done in native songs that are actually chanted. A close friend will be greeted with *"ka'ó-o-o-oha, nú-u-uwi-y-é-e-e-e-e (ka'oha nui e)"* with a high sustained inflexion on the *o*, the *u*, and the *e*. Natives of Hivaoa say that a listener to two Uapou men who are in a heated discussion, on the point of doing violence to one another, may think that they are singing a song together. On the other hand, it is a common experience to come upon two Hivaoa men en-

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gaged in the most amicable discussion, about the state of the weather, perhaps, but carried on with a vigor that suggests they may come to blows at any moment. 195

Trick Languages

Some examples were obtained of very interesting trick languages used for amusement and for concealment of meanings. One of these is known on Nukuhiva as *uhi tua*. The term *uhi tua* is derived from a sub-group of the once powerful tribe inhabiting Haa Paa valley, who originated this method of talking. It is said that it was taught to two women by a bird, called by the natives *komako*, that sings very prettily in the tree tops, and that groups of men, women, and children used to gather at times to amuse themselves by talking the *uhi tua*. It was understood only by the inhabitants of Haa Paa valley. Fortunately examples of it have been obtained from a man living in Taiohae, who is said to be the last survivor of this once very powerful tribe. It will be seen that the principle of the language is simple—namely, the transposition of the syllables of words, with the occasional insertion of vowels to make the flow of speech rhythmic. A few examples will suffice. *Pehea oe* (Where are you going?) is in the *uhi tua* language, *hepea oe. Te nei kenana* (this man) is *te eni nekaka; tenei ehua* (this year) is *te eni nehua; Pakahio* (old woman) is *kapaiho; poiti* (child) is *hopiti; pahoe* (maid) is *hapoe; ka'oha* (greeting) is *hakoa; mea meitai* (good!) is *e ema hemiati; mea hauhau* (bad) is *me ahuahu. Te nei enana no Haa Paa* (this man from Haa Paa) is *te eni ne kaka no Piu Aha; e tuki tenei vehine te popoi* (this woman is pounding *popoi*) is *e kuti te eni hevine te hohopi.* 193

There is another trick language which is talked at the present time in Taiohae, but it is said to be quite old. It seems probable that the basis of this is an attempt to imitate the sound of Tahitian. It is called *e'o hu'i* (language turned over, or upside down). *Pehea oe?* (Where are you going?) is *Peheiherea ooioroe. E he'e au i apai* (I am going for a walk) is *E tai taraha ovai varau apaiparai. Mea nui te ua* (It is a rainy day) is *Menui murui teui urua. Ka'oha oe* (Greeting to you) is *kaoioroha ooioroe. Ihea tu'u pae?* (Where is my hat?) is *Iheiherea tu'u poeparae. Ua hemo au i te mate* (I am ill) is *Ua heiheremoovaivarau i te maimarate. Ena to au kahu hou* (That is my new dress) is *Enainara touaivarau kaikarahu hoihorou. Aki me'ie i te a nei* (It is clear to-day) is *Aiaraki meiirie teaneinerei.*

A few words of another trick language of this same kind that used to be talked in Puamau were learned. There, *Apuhi taua i te pake* (Let's have a smoke) was *Vara taua tuvata. Kaoha* (greeting) was *karohati. Ehoa* (friend!) was *e hopore.*

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka 585
na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, 192
there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex 195
act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used 585
among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply 833
slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words.

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159 833 837 [551] [158] [733] [158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above.

833 886 [832]

/71 cont./ 521
and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being pro- 522
duced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. 831
These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the un-
initiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already 192
been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," 195
p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented 831
here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over
Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The [177]
word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate,"
and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swim-
ming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that sev-
eral of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments,
and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading
water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals.
The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded
to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded
that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells.
From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on con- 521
versation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except 831
in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect re- [602]
lations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, [606]
are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relation-
ships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed con- 831
siderably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both 178
with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the
first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities
were still in use. These were most often directed at an in- [508]
dividual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than
referring to sexual matters.